

308 THE TODAS *The last clause* CHAP.
~~was said by Samuel to be interpreted:~~

186 "Let me not get into trouble with the government," but it is
 782 probably much older than this interpretation would indicate,
 805 and refers to the former dislike of the Todas to any inter-
 193 course with people other than the Badagas and Kotas.
 "Twelve years" is a common expression for an indefinitely
 long time, and may be translated "for ever." The practice of
 combining positive and negative sentences as in this prayer is
 one which seems to be not uncommon in the Toda language.
 It will be noticed that several of the clauses are identical
 with those of the prayer ordinarily used in the dairy.

782 When the *pilinörtpol* has finished his prayer he rises, and
 783 the *palikartmogh* takes up the *tuni* and the ring and puts
 796 them in the dairy. Then the *pilinörtpol* and his companions
 618 go into the outer room of the dairy and take food prepared
 by the dairyman, after which they go to a wood near Kiudr
 and stay there till after nightfall, when they make their way
 home, taking care not to be seen by anyone.

If the ring is given by one of the Kuudrol it becomes the
 property of the men of the other *kudr*, but as its value is
 very small, only from four annas to two rupees, it is not
 divided, but is usually taken by the man of the *kudr* who
 takes the chief part in the ceremony.

The ceremony as described above resembles those of
irnörtiti and *tuninörtiti*, in that the offering is given by a
 man of one division of the clan to the members of the other
 division.

Pilinörtiti may also be undertaken by a man as an atone-
 ment for wrong-doing, and in the only case of the kind of
 which I know, the wrong-doer, although he belonged to the
 Kars clan of the Tartharol, had to make the offering to
 Kiudr. In this case there was no question of the ring passing
 from one *kudr* to another, and it probably became the
 property of the man connected with Kiudr who took the
 chief part in conducting the ceremony.

123 Various unfortunate events which occurred during my visit
 753 to the Todas illustrate very well the working of the regula-
 777 tions which have been described in this chapter. One of
 these misfortunes befell Kutadri, who went with me to visit
 the Kundahs, the headquarters of the Pan clan. Mr.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

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A BRIEF OUTLINE
OF THE
GRAMMAR
OF THE
TUDA LANGUAGE

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*[From a collection of Tuda words and sentences presented by the
Rev. Friedrich Metz, of the Basel Missionary Society.]*

NOTICE.

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These outlines are the result of a good deal of personal intercourse with the Toda, during a residence of twelve years on the Nilagiris. With the kind assistance of the late lamented J. W. Breeks, Esq., the First Commissioner of the Nilagiris, the subject of the Toda language was investigated a few years ago in connection with a small Archaeological Society in Ootacamund. At the request of Colonel Marshall, I have put the results into this shape, to be printed in his work on the Toda. I think that the facts of the language are here gathered together. It is becoming daily more difficult to ascertain what is originally Toda and what is borrowed by that people from the later immigrants.

In one or two matters, I have ventured to differ from the Rev. Dr. Caldwell, whose Dravidian Grammar has invested such researches with a new interest. I advance my opinions with unfeigned diffidence. While agreeing in the main with that profound scholar, I yet think that the remarkable analogies between the Keltic and the Dravidian languages merit a more thorough investigation.

§ 12. In Tuḍa *v* or *w* is optionally pronounced before *o* initial; thus, *vodd*=*one*; but in the compound we find *oddi-adi*=*alone* (lit. one-step); and *on* or *or* is the Drāviḍian root. So in English 'one' is pronounced 'won.'

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The possession of this sound of *w* is one of the many noteworthy analogies between the Keltic languages and the Drāviḍian.

So *y* may, as in the other Drāv. dialects, be prefixed to any word beginning with *a*. Thus, *enak* or *yanak*=*to me*.

This, too, is found in English, and is probably due to Keltic influences: *ewe* is pronounced *yew*.

NOUNS.

§ 13. Tuḍa nouns have no inflections for number or gender.

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§ 14. The Nominative, Accusative, Vocative, and Genitive cases are alike, being the unaltered root.

§ 15. The inflectional particles in use are, (1) for the dative, *g* or *k*; (2) for the instrumental ablative and the ablative of remotion, *and* (or *edd*); and (3) for the local ablative *orah*.

These correspond very exactly to the Old Kanarese, *ge*, *inda*, and *of* (comp. § 43).

§ 16. The following is a Paradigm of a Tuḍa noun:

	āḷ, a man
N. Acc. Voc. Gen.	āḷ, a man
Dat.	āḷg, to or for a man
Abl. (instrum. and remotion)	āḷend (āḷedd), by or from a man
(place)	āḷorah, in a man.

§ 17. Since the nominative, accusative, and genitive cases are alike, it is chiefly by position that the syntax of a Tuḍa sentence is regulated. A noun immediately before a transitive verb is the object; while a noun before another noun is in the genitive case, or qualifies it like an adjective.

In the latter case *ad*, the root of the epicene pronoun of the 3rd person, appears to be sometimes inserted, making what looks like a genitive case.

This resembles the Kan. usage. In that language, certain nouns add *d* to the root to form the inflectional base, which is used for any case. The Tamil adds *thu*. (*th* flat) to the root to form a genitive.

§ 18. The Tuḍa pronouns are irregular, but correspond very closely to those of the other Drāviḍian dialects.

§ 19. THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

(1) The pronoun of the 1st person.

	SINGULAR		PLURAL
Nom.	<i>ān, I</i>		<i>ām, ām, we</i>
Acc.	<i>yen, me</i>		<i>yem, ām, us</i>
Gen.	<i>yen; yen-adu, my, mine</i>		<i>yem; yem-adu, our, ours</i>
Dat.	<i>yen-ak, to or for me</i>		<i>yem-ak, to or for us</i>
Abl.	<i>{ yen-end -edd } from me.</i>		<i>{ yem-end, ām-end, ām-edd } from us</i>

NOTE.—The original form of the Drāviḍian pronoun of the 1st person is uncertain.

(1.) In the oldest dialect of Tamil and in Tulu it is *yān*, in Old Kanarese *ān*, in Old Telugu *ēnu*, in Malayalam *njān*.

(2.) The inflections of this pronoun in nearly all the cognate languages have *en*; and in the oldest forms *y* is prefixed at pleasure to all cases beginning with *e*.

(3.) The pronoun when appended to the Drāviḍian verb in *ān*, *en*, *ini*, *eni*, *ēn*.

(4.) In later Tamil Kanarese and Telugu we find forms *nān*, *nām*, and *nēnu*, in the Nom. Singular; and *nām*, *mēnu* in the Nom. Plural. This *n* or *m* I do not regard as primitive, since it is wanting in all the old forms. The Drāviḍian languages prefix *n* to several words which they have received from other languages. Thus the Sanskrit *yaga* is in Tamil *ṇugam*; and *mangḍram* is the form in which the word *anchor* has settled down in the Drāviḍian dialects. I can see how *n* might have crept in; I cannot imagine its disappearance from every ancient dialect.

(5.) This is not the place for a full discussion of the subject; but I would compare *ān* with the very ancient form *S. āham*.

Nor can I think it clear that *ām* is not related to the Sanskrit *vāyan*, or to the Greek *ἄνεις* or *ἀππης*, and Védic *asmā*.

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§ 20. (2) The pronoun of the 2nd person.

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	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom. } <i>nī</i>		<i>nim-a</i>
Voc. }		
Acc. } <i>nin</i>		<i>nim</i>
Gen. }		
Dat. <i>nin-ak</i>		{ <i>nim-ak</i> <i>nim, nim-adu</i>
Abl. { <i>nin-end</i> or <i>nin-edd, by</i> <i>or from thee</i> <i>nin-orah, in thee</i> }		{ <i>nim-end, nim-edd</i> <i>nim-orah</i>

This closely resembles the ancient Kanarese and Tamil.

I do not know whether it is of use to point out the Dravidian root *nī*, 'stand,' with its past part. in Kan. *nīnu*, as the possible origin of this pronoun.

Here *n* is, I think, undoubtedly radical.

§ 21. The pronoun of the 3rd person in Tuḍa (which is really a demonstrative pronoun, or adjective) has the peculiarity, that like the Latin *se*, it has no inflection for gender or number.

Thus *atham* = *he, she, it, they*.

[Generally *se* is an indistinct nasal, the anuswāra of the Sanskrit.]

It is declined like *āi* (§ 16).

N. A. G.	<i>atham</i>
Dat.	<i>athan-g</i>
Abl.	{ <i>ath-end, atham-edd, athamend</i> <i>atham-orah, ath-orah</i>

The resemblance to S. *ada*s is remarkable.

Kan. *ātanu* = *he*; *adu* = *it*.

It will be remarked that the verbal forms of the 3rd person make no distinction of number or gender. (Comp. § 26.)

This is a remote demonstrative (*ille, &c.*); *itham* is used for the proximate (*hic, &c.*).

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Besides this oldest form the Tuḍa uses the pronouns

avan (ille) ; *ivan* (hic)

aval (illa) ; *ival* (hæc)

with their plurals

avar ; *ivar*, which are declined like *il*, with the addition of a kind of genitive in *du* : *avandu*, &c.

Here *avan*, &c., are the remote demonstratives, and *ivan*, &c., the proximate demonstratives.

These appear to be forms recently introduced, or, it may be, reintroduced into Tuḍa from Kanarese or Tamil.

Avandu=*avan*+*du*, and is prefixed to a noun adjectivally, and so forms a kind of genitive case: *avandu kukh*=his wife. (§ 17.)

The use of *a* and *i* as demonstrative prefixes is thoroughly Drāviḍian.

The root of this pronoun is evidently *ḍ*.

§ 22.

TUḌA ADVERBS.

(1) Words answering to English adverbs exist in Tuḍa. Some of them are also used as nouns, some are parts of the verb.

(2) The following list includes nearly all that are in use.

1. <i>yes</i>	<i>hā</i>	{ These seem to be really interjections.
2. <i>no</i>	<i>āha</i>	
3. <i>here, there, where</i>	{ <i>ite, ata, etc.</i>	{ Here the <i>i, a, e</i> , as demonstrative and interrogative particles appear.
4. <i>why</i>	<i>ēte</i>	
5. <i>how</i>	<i>yetete</i>	{ Reduplicate of <i>ete</i> . (3.)
6. <i>who, what?</i>	<i>athario</i>	
7. <i>above</i>	<i>māl, mok</i>	{ <i>MN</i> is Drāviḍian. <i>Mok</i> from Sansk.= <i>before</i> .
8. <i>below</i>	<i>kli, erk</i>	
9. <i>before</i> (place)	<i>mud</i>	{ Kan. <i>keja, irrida</i> . Tam. <i>kir, irakka</i> . Drāviḍ. <i>mun, munda</i> . Kan. <i>munchē</i> .
<i>before</i> (time)	<i>much</i>	

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10. <i>behind</i>	pinno	A. Kan. <i>pinde</i> .
11. <i>outside</i>	porram	A. Kan. <i>pora. purram</i> in T.
12. <i>inside</i>	ulg	U], <i>within</i> , in the dative case.
13. <i>much</i>		A. K. <i>ubbarige</i> . In Kan. Tam.
14. <i>more</i> [comp. (23)= <i>yet</i> much]	upām innupām	and Tel. <i>up</i> or <i>ub</i> is a root signifying increase. Comp. Sansk. <i>upari</i> .
15. <i>near</i>	kekhuri	This seems to be a corruption of Kan. <i>kaige o</i> = <i>in hand</i> or <i>at hand</i> .
16. <i>far</i>	bathki	<i>Basike</i> =near, in K.
17. <i>also, together</i>	kūḍa	Infin. of Kūḍu, <i>come together</i> .
18. <i>alone</i>	oddi-aḍi	Odd=one. aḍi=step, a time.
19. <i>frequently</i>	upām-aḍi	Comp. (13)=more-step.
20. <i>soon, suddenly</i>	birnd	Kan. <i>biri-biri</i> (§ 34.)
21. <i>again</i>	terigi	Kan. <i>tirige</i> .
22. <i>enough</i>	ettana	{ In Tamil= <i>this much</i> . Kan. <i>ittani</i> =the whole.
23. <i>yet</i>	in	Kan. <i>innu</i> , more, yet.
24. <i>when</i>	etwan	{ Compare (3).
25. <i>then</i>	atwan	
26. <i>now</i>	itwan	
27. <i>for ever</i>	etwan-etwan	Lit.=when-when.
28. <i>another</i>	in odd	=yet one.

§ 23.

TUDA ADJECTIVES.

(1) There are a few words which appear to be adjectives by nature; but the majority are merely nouns placed before other nouns to qualify or limit their meaning.

(2) The following list contains some of the adjectives now in common use.

1. <i>good</i>	} ulthe	<i>ol, offi, offida</i> , in Kan. <i>thi=thu</i> or <i>du</i> or <i>di</i> ,
2. <i>pretty</i>		<i>nal</i> in O. Kan., and Tam., and in the other Drāv. dialects.
3. <i>old</i>	ka]	<i>Kira</i> in Tam., <i>korr</i> in O. Kan.

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|---|
| 4. <i>big</i> | ·ēt-ud | ēt=elevation, in Tamil. In Kan. <i>ēda</i> =having risen | <i>ud</i> in <i>ētud</i> and in <i>kirud</i> is evidently <i>atham</i> =it. |
| 5. <i>little</i> | kin, kir-ud | Tam. <i>cin, cirridu</i> . Kan. <i>kin, kir</i> | |
| 6. <i>hot</i> | bīrah | Kan. <i>bisi, bishi, bisilu</i> | |
| 7. <i>cold</i> | kor | Drāviḍian root is <i>kuḥ</i> | |
| 8. <i>wet</i> | nād | This is Kan. <i>nād, nān, nānd</i> | |
| 9. <i>dry</i> | voṇag | K. <i>oṇa, oṇagu</i> . In Tam. <i>uṇa</i> | This <i>g</i> or <i>gu</i> a strengthening part in K. and T. |
| 10. <i>male</i> | tāk-an | <i>an</i> is the Drāv. masc. term. | Here seems to be an internal modification of a root to distinguish gender. |
| 11. <i>female</i> | tākh | These words cannot be traced to any Drāviḍian root. <i>dēham</i> =body. <i>tā-gai</i> is a poet. word for woman | |
| 12. <i>white</i> | { bel-thi
belp
chen } | { Kan. <i>beḥ</i> | |
| 13. <i>red</i> | { bākh-gudi
kandati
kəpu } | { Kan. <i>chen, kudi, kando, kempu</i> | |
| 14. <i>yellow</i> | majjal | Tam. <i>manjal</i> | |
| 15. <i>black, blue, green</i> | kar-thti | Kan. <i>kari</i> | |
| 16. <i>other</i> | vēr | Kan. <i>bēre</i> . Tam. <i>vēru</i> . | |
| 17. <i>great</i> | perud | | |

(3) These roots, probably among the oldest in the language, are, with hardly an exception, common to all the Drāviḍian languages; but the peculiarities of the Kanarese are found in the Tuḍa.

§ 24. Forms answering to the comparative and superlative degrees are obtained by putting a noun in the 'ablative of

remotion' before the adjective; and by prefixing the adverb
upâm = much.

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Thus: *athumed-kirud*, smaller than it
âled-êtud, greater than a man
upâm-êtud, *upâmkirud*, greatest, smallest

§ 25. THE TUDA VERBS.

(1) The Tuda verb has I. an affirmative form consisting of an indicative mood and an imperative mood; II. a negative form, with the same two moods.

(2) It has two tenses: I. An indefinite tense, which is present or future; II. A past tense.

(3) There are fragments of other forms which can only be conjecturally restored.

§ 26. The verb 'to be' is thus inflected.

Root *er*.

I. AFFIRMATIVE FORM.

Indicative Mood.

(I) Indefinite Present.

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
1. (<i>ân</i>) <i>er-sh-k-en</i> , <i>I am</i>	(<i>ôm</i>) <i>er-sh-k-imi</i>
2. (<i>nî</i>) <i>er-sh-ch-i</i>	(<i>nima</i>) <i>er-sh-ch-i</i>
3. (<i>avan</i>) <i>er-sh-ch-i</i>	(<i>avar</i>) <i>er-sh-ch-i</i>

(II) Indefinite Past.

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
1. (<i>ân</i>) <i>edd-er-sh-p-îni</i> , <i>I was</i>	(<i>ôm</i>) <i>edd-er-sh-p-îmi</i>
2. (<i>nî</i>) } <i>edd-er-sh-ch-i</i>	(<i>nima</i>) } <i>edd-er-sh-ch-i</i>
3. (<i>avan</i>) }	(<i>avar</i>) }

This is evidently a compound form obtained by prefixing *edd* to the present tense: *edd* being for *erd*. (§ 30.)

The 1st pers. sing. takes what seems to be an alternative form in *p-îni*: *erâhpîni* = *erâhken*.

Sh is the Tuḏa substitute for k: ahk=kk

Oh is a softened form of k: so in Saxon, spæc=speak
sceal=shall.

Imperative Mood.

ōru, be thou

ir-mā, let it be.

Of this mā I can give no explanation.

II. NEGATIVE FORM.

(I) Indefinite Present: *I, &c., am not.*

SINGULAR	PLURAL
1. ir-emi	ir-emi
2. ir-e	ir-e
3. ir-adi	ir-adi

(II) Indefinite Past: *I, &c., was not.*

1. er-th-emi	er-th-emi
2. er-th-e	er-th-e
3. er-th-adi	er-th-adi

§ 27. The Verb ḁḁ, *dance*, is thus inflected.

I. AFFIRMATIVE FORM.

Indicative Mood.

(I) Indefinite Present: *I, &c., dance.*

SINGULAR	PLURAL
1. ḁḁ-k-en	ḁḁ-k-emi
2. ḁḁ-ch-i	ḁḁ-ch-i
3. ḁḁ-ch-i	ḁḁ-ch-i

(II) Indefinite Past: *I, &c., danced.*

1. ḁḁ-th-b-ini	ḁḁ-th-b-imi
2. } ḁḁ-th-ch-i	ḁḁ-th-ch-i
3. }	

Imperative Mood.

pui, strike!

pui mā, let him strike!

II. NEGATIVE FORM.

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Indicative Mood.(I) Indefinite Present : *I, &c., dance not.*

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
1. āḍ-emi	āḍ-emi
2. āḍ-e	āḍ-e
3. āḍ-adi	āḍ-adi

(II) Indefinite Past : *I, &c., danced not.*

1. āṭa ger-th-emi	āṭa ger-th-emi
2. āṭa ger-th-e	āṭa ger-th-e
3. āṭa ger-th-adi	āṭa ger-th-adi

Imperative Mood.

pui ad iru } strike not!
 pui āṭa }

N.B. Of these, one is Kan. and the other Tamil.

§ 28. It will be seen from these paradigms that the Tuḍa, like the other Drāviḍian dialects, has *temporal particles*, which are inserted between the root and the personal terminations. In the present tense affirmative the temporal particle is *K*, which is softened into *CH* (as in *Church*), before *I*.

In the 1st persons *S.* and *P.* a *p* or *b* (it is pronounced both ways) is occasionally found. This may have some connexion with the temporal particle found in the present, in Old Kanarese, which is *DAP*.

This is almost the only part of the Tuḍa language that seems to indicate great antiquity. It is, however, Old Kanarese.

In ordinary Kanarese there is scarcely a trace of the *k*, which being softened into *h*, or *v*, has finally disappeared.

In Tamil it remains in the temporal particle of the present *Kirru* or *Girru*; in a strengthening particle *gu* added to many roots; and in some old poetical forms, such as *ḡey-gu* = I will do; *ḡey-gum*, we will do.

In Malayalim it is still found in the present of many verbs in the form of *kunnu*.

In the old form Kanarese *bi-ku*, 'must,' it is preserved; as also in *ḡa-ku*, 'it is enough.'

In Old Kanarese *kum* and *gum* may be appended to any root to form an aorist. This admits no variation for number or person. Thus *aṣar māḡugum* = they do.

In the past the *temporal particle* is TH (as in *this*). This is *d* in Kanarese.

The negative mode is obtained by joining the root to the personal termination without the intervention of any temporal particle. This is common to all the Dravidian languages.

§ 29. The personal terminations are for the

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
I. Pers.	<i>en, eni, ini.</i>	<i>imi, eni</i>
II. Pers. }	<i>i, e</i>	
III. Pers. }		
	<i>i, aḡi</i>	

These are shortened forms of the pronouns. See §§ 19-21.

§ 30. There are also in Tuḍa traces of other verbal forms which are peculiar to the Dravidian family of languages.

The relative participle, or adjective form of the verb, is one of these.

In the day when I joined, is in Tuḍa :

ān kūḡid nājorah
[*I joined day-in*].

Here *kūḡid* is in Kanarese *kūḡida*, and is called a 'relative participle,' qualifying *day*, and being equivalent to *when* (*I*) *joined*, thus including in itself the relative adverb.

So, *ān āḡid nāj*, *the day I danced*.

Thus *edd* is = Kan. *idda*, 'which was.' (§ 26.)

§ 31. Tuḍa also forms a verbal noun, a kind of infinitive, from verbs ending in a flat consonant by changing the flat into its corresponding sharp, as in all the other Drāviḍian languages.

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Thus āḍ, *dance* or *play*, makes

āṭa, *dancing* [Tam. aḍu, aṭṭam; Kan. āḍu, āṭa, and in Tel. the same].

The past tense of the negative form is thus:

āṭa ger-th-cni
dancing did(not)-I. (§ 27.)

And here (1) Is not *ger-th* singularly like the Sanskrit *kṛita*, done? Surely this is the KAR of the Indo-Germanic 'grund-sprache.'

(2) May this not throw light on the Tamil temporal particle *kirra*? and probably on the K. (§ 28.)

(3) Does it not seem that the negative particle in such forms is really dropped? The emphatic 'dancing-did-I' remains, and the formula of negation has perished. (Comp. Earle's *Philology of the English Tongue*, p. 427.)

§ 32. In examining the forms of the verb still surviving among the Tuḍas, it becomes evident that many verbal inflections have been dropped. We have, it seems, but the débris of an elaborate inflectional system. There was probably a future tense with *temporal particle* v, p, or b, as in Kanarese and Tamil. This has disappeared, as in Saxon, and the present (like the English indefinite present) is now used as a future with an adverb. The forms āḍ-th-b-ini and er-sh-p-imī are probably remnants of it. (§ 27.)

§ 33. An infinitive mood in a perhaps existed; for the adverb *kāḍa* is the infinitive of *kāḍ*, unless indeed this is a word of recent importation. (§ 22.)

§ 34. The adverb *birnd*, 'suddenly,' seems to be from a root which is found in Old Kanarese, *biri*, 'burst,' and in

Tamil *viṛu*, 'fall,' from which, in the latter dialect, the past adv. participle, *viṛundu*, is formed. There is, therefore, a trace of a past adv. part. (§ 22.)

§ 35. There is no passive inflection in Tuḍa.

§ 36. The interrogative forms are obtained by adding *ā*, which, as in Tamil and in Old Kanarese, is the chief interrogative particle.

Thus *has Beḷāni joined?* is, *Beḷāni kûṭhiyā?*

E and *ô* are also interrogative letters in Tuḍa.

§ 37. It is not easy to decide whether the Tuḍa retains any trace of a subjunctive mood.

The following sentence seems to contain something equivalent to it.

Atham Nastufi kûḷā valī, kukh in odd ālk ādthohi

He to Nastufi not joining (marrying) when, (the) woman yet one man has married.

If he do not marry Nastufi, she will marry another man.

Here *kûḷā* is apparently a negative participle qualifying the noun *valī*=time (Kan. *vêḷe*).

The forms *pôk-ādi* and *pôk-ārzh* are found with the meaning *of go*. Here *ādi* and *ārzh* are joined to the root. They seem to be the Kan. *arē* or Tam. *āl*. But they are probably borrowed from Tamil.

The verbal root is the imperative of 2nd pers. sing.; thus, *āḍ*, *play thou*. Another form adds *mā* to the root; thus, *pui-mā*, *strike thou*.

§ 38. The Tuḍa has neither prepositions nor conjunctions. This want of 'link words' is an index of the entire absence of the habit of reasoning.

§ 39. By way of illustration, I added a few sentences.

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(The words are in the subjoined lists.)

- (1) When I married Beliani I was a widow.
ân Belianig kûdîd nâlorzh ân barudi.
I to-Beliani joined in-day I widow.
- (2) Is Nastuf married?
Nastuf belthta gavthya!
to-Nastuf silver tied?
belthta = silver badge. (In Kan. belje = silver + (r) tali = marriage token.)
gavthya = gavth + a or ya.
 This seems to be an adv. part. = *having tied* (§ 34), followed by the interrog. (§ 36).
- (3) Is Beliani married?
Beliani kukhag kûdthya?
Beliani to-a woman joined?
kukhag. Here *a* is inserted to connect *kukh* with its case ending *g*.
- (4) Your wife walks not with my wife.
Nin kaff-vodi-kukh yen kaff-vodi—kukh nadevadi.
nade vadi (§ 27). Kan. nade = walk.
v is a Euphonic insertion.
- (5) My uncle's sons are my brothers.
Yen perudên kirudên mokh yen apan taman
My great-father little-father son my elder-brother younger-brother
erhachi.
are.
yen (§ 19) perud, kirud (§ 23).
apan (K. apa = elder brother. The R. seem to mean above.)
taman (K. tamma = younger brother).
ên (K. ayya = father, priest).
erhachi (§ 26).

The final *n*, as the termination of masculine nouns, here seems to be fairly in the language; but I suspect it is only an obscure nasal, not differing from the epicene ending *m* in *atham*.

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- (6) That one's father and this one's father are brothers-in-law (relatives).

atham ên itham ên bêâl

That father this father related-man

atham, itham (§ 21)

bêâl (bê the root of the Kan. Impersonal verb *bêku* + â) (§ 16)).

It will be seen that the Tuḏas now use no conjunctions, a sign of their degeneracy. 'Link words' of all kinds are wanting. In fact, Tuḏa has scarcely any 'symbolic' words, except pronouns, and the smallest possible supply of these.

- (7) Bejiâni is married, but has no son.

Bejiâni kukh kûḏthehi, makh illade edd

illade (Kan. *illada*=what is not)edd=*having been* (§ 30)

The finite verb *erahchi* is understood.

§ 40.

LISTS OF WORDS.

I. VERBAL ROOTS.

1. <i>am, sit</i>	er	Dr. <i>ir, urr, ul</i> (Sansk. <i>ri</i>).
2. <i>see</i>	{ <i>kân-th</i> <i>nôḏ-th</i>	K. <i>kân</i> . K. <i>nôḏ</i> .
3. <i>hear</i>	<i>kâḷ-th</i>	K. <i>kâḷ</i> .
4. <i>feel, touch</i>	<i>mutti</i>	K. <i>muff</i> .
5. <i>taste</i>	<i>bâi kâp-th</i>	=see (with the) mouth.
6. <i>smell</i>	<i>mittuf kâp-th</i>	=see (with the) nose.
7. <i>dream</i>	<i>kanas kâp-th</i>	=I see a vision. K. <i>kanas</i> .
8. <i>laugh</i>	<i>kar-th</i>	K. <i>chiri-chu</i> .
9. <i>weep</i>	<i>âḏ</i>	K. <i>aḏu</i> . T. <i>aḏu</i> . (S. <i>aḏu</i> .)
10. <i>sing</i>	<i>ka-th âḏ</i>	=I play a story. K. <i>kaḏhe</i> . S. <i>kaḏhâ</i> .
11. <i>shout</i>	A U <i>bishar-th</i>	=I cry A U K. <i>bicchâḏ</i> .
12. <i>talk</i>	<i>arvorkh</i>	K. <i>alavâke</i> =loquacity.
13. <i>dance, play</i>	<i>âḏ</i>	K. <i>âḏ</i> .
14. <i>stand</i>	<i>nîl-th</i>	K. <i>nîl</i> .
15. <i>walk</i>	<i>naḏ</i>	K. <i>naḏ</i> .
16. <i>run</i>	<i>voḏi</i>	K. <i>ôḏ</i> .
17. <i>lie down</i>	<i>vorî</i>	probably a variation of 25.

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18. give	tash	K. <i>tar-u</i> .
19. clean	ārsp	K. <i>āidu</i> =to dip; <i>alaṣu</i> , to rinse.
20. bow, salute	kombuddi	K. <i>kumbu + idu</i> .
21. ash	bind er-th	K. <i>bēḷ</i> . Tam. <i>vēṇḍ</i> .
22. strike	pul	K. <i>poḍe</i> . Old Kan. <i>po-y-u</i> .
23. kill	kēdigidviti	K. <i>kēḍ</i> =destruction. O.K. <i>geidu</i> , made. Is <i>vi</i> a causal inflection? (? Sansk. <i>VRIT</i> . Dr. padu.)
24. die	kēdiverti	(? Sansk. <i>VRIT</i> . Dr. padu.)
25. slap	vorikh	K. <i>orag-u</i> .
26. do, make	gei	O. K. <i>gē</i> , <i>gei</i> .
27. take	va-th, ba-th	K. <i>hatt</i> or <i>paṭṭ</i> .
28. join	kūḍ-th	K. <i>kūḍ</i> .
29. tie on	gav-th	K. <i>kaṭṭ</i> (but ? <i>kavi</i> =put on).
30. negative verb	il	K. <i>il</i> .
31. it thunders	yēr-th-ti	K. <i>yer</i> .
32. go	pōk	K.

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§ 41.

II. NOUNS.

1. a span	gēn	(Kan. <i>gēṇu</i> . Tam. <i>śaṇ</i> .)
2. a foot	eddgēn, aḍi	(K. <i>aḍi</i>).
3. a cubit	mlā, mlāgei	(K. <i>moṣa</i>).
4. a pace	kandaf	(?)
5. a name	pēru, hearu	(Kan.)
6. a nickname	porra-hearu	(=outside name) (Kan.)
7. a collection	kūṭa	(Kan.)
8. medicine	maddu	(K. <i>maddu</i> . Tam. <i>ma- runthu</i>).
9. ivory	kāikuli	
10. friend	yonkāl	(Lit.=a man to me, §§ 16, 19).
11. old man	kaḷāl	(A. K. <i>kaṇṇa</i> , § 6).
12. old woman	kaḷachi	(K. <i>kaṇ</i> . Fem. term. <i>ti</i> or <i>chi</i> is Dr.).
13. family	kūṭasāram	(Sansk.)

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14. relation	apatama	(K. <i>ana</i> =elder brother; <i>tama</i> =younger brother).
	pāltiāi	(K. <i>pāi</i>).
	pāyāl	(K. <i>ā + āi</i>).
15. ancestor	māpu	(K. <i>māppu</i> =old).
16. dan	(No Tuđa word)	
17. man, person, husband	āl	
18. a young man	varah	(S. <i>āla</i>).
19. son, boy	mokh	(K. <i>maga</i>); popen. (?) <i>tāi</i> <i>mokh</i> =daughter (§ 23).
20. woman, girl, daughter, wife	kukh	(? Comp. S. <i>gukya</i> . Tam. <i>hoktu, kongu</i> . Perhaps a depreciatory word connected with the root <i>kug</i>).
21. father	appu, ēyan, ēn	(Kan.)
22. mother	avv	(Kan. <i>avva</i>).
23. wife	kātvoti	(Kan. <i>kattubādi</i> =one bound).
24. bachelor	mokh-varah	
25. child	kin-mokh (m.), tūj-mokh (f.) (§ 23)	
26. child (infant)	popen (m.) (?) kin-minthki (f.)	(Kin. § 23, <i>minthki</i> is of uncertain origin; ? <i>manuki</i> : probably a pet word).
27. twins	mor-mokh	(perhaps <i>mor</i> =marr=other).
28. orphan	tobbāri	(K. <i>tobbili</i>).
29. widower	baruḍa	(A. K. <i>baraḍa</i> =empty).
30. widow	mudēgitti, barudi	(K. <i>mudē</i>).
31. great-grandfather	pēvian	} pī or pēvi { pī, pēvi, forms of + 21, 22 { piri, 'great.'
32. great-grandmother	pēviavv	
33. grandfather	piyan	
34. grandmother	piyavv	
35. brother (younger)	annorvet	(<i>an</i> =my, or=one, <i>vet</i> = <i>petta</i> , which in A. K.=brought forth).
36. brother (elder)	ennap	(<i>en</i> + <i>ap</i> . Kan.).
37. brother or sister (younger)	enta	(Lit.=that one).

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38. sister (elder)	en akka	(Kan.).	CHAP. XXIX. <u>193</u> ●
39. mother-in-law, father's sister	māmi	(Kan.).	
40. father-in-law, mother's brother	māman	(Kan.).	
41. son's wife	mortwirth	(? Tam. <i>maru-maga</i>).	
42. daughter's husband	enman mokh		
43. father's brother (elder)	ennan perud		
44. father's brother (younger)	ennan kirud		
45. mother's sister (elder)	perud avv		
46. mother's sister (younger)	kirud avv		
47. husband's brother (elder)	yen āl ennan		
48. husband's brother (younger)	yen āl norvet		
49. wife's sister (elder)	yen kātivoti akkan		
50. wife's sister (younger)	yen kātivoti norvet kukh		
51. wife's brother	pâyāl		
52. spear	it	(Kan.).	
53. bow	virah	(§ 7).	
54. arrow	ābu	(Kan., Tam., Tel., Mal. <i>ambu</i> . Here the Tuḍa has dropped <i>m</i> , and lengthened the vowel, as compensation.)	
55. knife	tāri	(K. <i>dāru</i> , go through).	
56. club	kupḍu	(K. <i>gunḍu</i>).	
57. net	balle	(K. <i>bāle</i>).	
58. axe	moest	(? A. Tam. <i>maṛi</i>).	
59. hatchet	kūrvāl	(K. <i>kāṛ</i> =sharp; <i>bāl-u</i> = knife. This is the exact Tamil; a Poligar word?).	

N. B.—No Tuḍa word for *cow*, *plough*, *sword*, or *shield*.

60. <i>buffalo</i> (male)	šəht	(<i>šru</i> =ascend, is the Drāv. for the male of any animal).
61. <i>buffalo</i> (female)	er	(Kan. <i>emme</i> . Tam. <i>erumai</i> . Mal. <i>erima</i> . Tel. <i>enumu</i>).
62. <i>calf</i> (male)	koan	(Kan. <i>hand-u</i> =a calf).
63. <i>calf</i> (female)	karr	(K. <i>karu</i> =a calf.)
64. <i>deer</i>	māf	(Dr. <i>mān</i>).
65. <i>dog</i>	nai	(Kan.)
66. <i>dog</i> (wild)	chen-nai	(Red-dog § 23).
67. <i>cat</i>	kotti	(Kan. <i>kotti</i>).
68. <i>tiger</i>	pūrah	(§ 7).
69. <i>bear</i>	karah	(§ 8).
70. <i>snake</i>	pāb	(Kan. <i>pāv-u</i> . Tam. <i>pāmb-u</i> . Tel. <i>pām-u</i>).
71. <i>mouse</i>	irah	(Kan. <i>ili</i> =a rat).
72. <i>bird</i>	bīlti	(Kan. <i>bē</i> seems to be the root of it).
73. <i>crow</i>	kāk	(Kan.).
74. <i>sparrow</i>	gubbi bīlti	(See 72: Kan. <i>gubbi</i> =sparrow).
75. <i>fish</i>	mīn	(Kan.).
76. <i>insect</i>	pūf	(§ 9).
77. <i>butterfly</i>	kappan	(?).
78. <i>louse</i>	pēn	(Kan.).
79. <i>bird's nest</i>	bīlt-gādu	(Kan.).
80. <i>bird's egg</i>	mueh	(Tam. <i>muffai</i> . Kan. <i>guḍḍu</i>).
81. <i>village</i>	mand, madd	(K. <i>mande</i> =herd).
82. <i>house, room</i>	ārah	(<i>āri</i> =ring, circular enclosure, or <i>arrai</i> =room, in Drāv.).
83. <i>cattle-pen</i>	tuel	(Dr. <i>toru</i> =fold. A. K. <i>toru</i> =cow).
84. <i>dairy</i>	pālthohi	(<i>pāl</i> +?).
85. <i>village-wall</i>	tnar	(Tam. <i>ṣuvar</i> ; <i>ṣ</i> and <i>t</i> are interchangeable).
86. <i>fire-place</i>	vorah, vorah-kāl	(K. <i>ole</i> . § 6).
87. <i>milk-pail</i>	honnu	(? Tam. <i>pānē</i>).
88. <i>cattle-bell</i>	konku or kong, gette	
89. <i>milk</i>	pāl	(A. K. <i>pāl</i>).

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90. *ghae* (clarified butter) *nei* (A. K. *neyi*).
 91. Affixes to names of villages *gadu*, *gudu*, *iri*, *ari*, *Drā. kuḍi*=tenancy, habitation. *iri*, *ari*, from root *er*.

92. *head* *madd* (K. *maṇḍe*).
 93. *skull* *madd-uvar*
 94. *face* *konmun*
 95. *eye* *kanpu* (K.).
 96. *nose* *mituf* (*mitte*, a projection +?).
 97. *mouth* *bâi* (K.).
 98. *ear* *kevi* (K. *kivi*).
 99. *tooth* *parsh* (K. *pal-lu*, § 6).
 100. *hand* *kei* (K.).
 101. *foot* *kâl* (K.).
 102. *finger* *belh* (K. *bera-l-u*).
 103. *toe* *kâl belh* (=foot-finger).
 104. *navel* *pokku* (A. Kan. *pokku-l-u*).
 105. *blood* *bâkh* (?) The word means *red*; comp. *râg*.
 106. *membrum virile* *boḍḍ* (Kan.).
 107. *pudendum muliebne* *âkukh, kuk* (=a receptacle; comp. 20).

108. *God, Lord, High* *dêr, swâmi, âsuru* (K. *âtoar-u swâmi* (S.)).
 Lord *swâmi*
 109. *demon* *bhût* } S.
 110. *ghost* *bhût*
 111. *idol* (No Tuḍa word)
 112. *heaven* *amnôr* (? *a*=that; § 21; *nâd*=region).
 113. *right* *sari* (Kan.).
 114. *sin* *pâpam* (S.).
 115. *life* *daivl* (? S. and Dr. *jîva*: also the organs of generation in a polite way).
 116. *breath* *dîv*
 117. *relic* *kurpu, mapî* (A.K. *kurupu*=sign, *mapî*=bell. Every *mapî* is a *kurpu*, but every *kurpu* is not a *mapî*).

118. <i>Toda sanctum</i>	tiriêri	(K. <i>tiru</i> = sacred, <i>are</i> = place. Comp. Saxon <i>dry</i> = a magician, druid).
119. <i>temple</i> (conical)	boath, boā	(? The words <i>boath</i> and <i>bothy</i> present a curious resemblance).
120. <i>sacred shrub</i>	tûre, tûde, zhûre	(S. <i>tulasi</i> , the 'Ocimum sanctum').
121. <i>bell-god</i>	mapî-dêr, konku-dêr, got-dêr	(Comp. 88, 108, 117).
122. <i>head priest</i>	pâlâl	(=milkman).
123. <i>sacrificing priest</i>	vorahâl	(=man of the fireplace).
124. <i>sacred dairyman</i>	pâlkârpâl	
125. <i>sacred herdsman</i>	kâvilâl	
126. <i>religious custom</i>	shâstr	(S.).
127. <i>a cairn</i>	vinn	(A. K. <i>vind-u</i> = a heap).
128. <i>a kromlech</i>	(No Tuḍa name)	Termed 'stonedairies' or 'little houses.'
129. <i>funeral</i>	kêḍu	(Kan. = destruction).
130. <i>place of final obsequies</i>	âthârm, âthâre, âthârb	(? S. <i>âdhâram</i>).
131. <i>ashes</i> (human)	nîrrah	(Drâ. <i>nîrru</i>).
132. <i>ashes</i>	bûdi	(Kan. <i>bûdi</i> , from S. <i>viḍ-'hâti</i>).
133. <i>day of 24 hours</i>	nâl	(Drâ.).
134. <i>to-day</i>	êḍḍu	(Kan. <i>ind-u</i>).
135. <i>yesterday</i>	ennêr	(Kan. <i>ninne</i> . Tam. <i>nêttu</i>).
136. <i>to-morrow</i>	makâl	(? + S. <i>kâla</i> = time).
137. <i>a week</i>	eṭṭnâl	(=eight days).
138. <i>a month</i>	mupath nâl	(=thirty days).
139. <i>a month</i>	deltu	(? A. K. <i>tingafu</i> = moon).
140. <i>a year</i>	vâr	(K. corruption of <i>varusha</i>).
141. <i>dawn</i>	belkâshk	(=when the morning star is seen. Comp. 146, 153).
142. <i>dawn</i>	êrigitâshk	(=rising time. Comp. 146. K. <i>êru</i> = rise).
143. <i>sunrise</i>	bîrshabât, bîrshkâshk	(Comp. 148).
144. <i>noon; daytime</i>	pachal	(S. Kan. <i>pagal-u</i>).

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145. *sunset* *kharvāshk* (Comp. 146. ? *ḡu*=go).
 146. *night, bedtime* *īr, īrsh, īrshāshk* (Drāv. *īrulu*=darkness.
āshk in all these words is of uncertain origin. It is probably a corruption of *kālam*=time, and seems to be *kāshk*).
 147. *midnight* *nadujāma* (Kan.=middle watch).
 148. *sun* *bīrah* (K. *bisul-u*).
 149. *moon* *tiggalu* (Comp. 139). [touch].
 150. *new moon* *muttu* (? *muttu*=pearl; *muttu*=
 151. *star* *mīn* Dr.=the twinkler).
 152. *sky* *bān* (Kan.).
 153. *light* *bejak, bējk* (Kan. *bēja-k-u*).
 154. *darkness* *īrsh* (Comp. 146).
 155. *lightning* *mijja* (Kan. *minug-u*).
 156. *rainbow* *kvarvarvirah* (Comp. 53, 159).
 157. *rain* *mlā* (K. *mafe*).
 158. *wind* *kātu* (Tam. *kāttu*. K. *gāḍi*).
 159. *storm with rain* *kvar* (K. *kāru*=the wet season).
 160. *shadow* *naī, nerzh* (K. *nejal-u, neralu*).
 161. *smoke* *pokh* (A. K. *Page*).
 162. *thunder* *yerthti* (=it thunders).
 163. *fire* *nebbu, dīth*
 164. *mantle* *putkuli* (A. K. *podda-kambaji*=a blanket in wear).
 165. *cloth to pass under the legs. The* *kāvn* (S. *kaupina*).
 lūngoti
 166. *bracelet* *pall, obball* (K. *baf*).
 167. *armlet* *tāl-waji* (K. *tofwanki*).
 168. *sash* *kavioh* (Drāv. use of S. *kavacha*).
 169. *sash-ring* *balhta* (Comp. 170).
 170. *finger-ring* *balth* (Comp. 102, prob. from *baf*=a fillet. The Kan. roots *baf, baf*).
 171. *ear-ring (silver)* *kov-balth* (=ear-ring).
 172. *ear-ring (gold)* *dain, daetti* K. *chinna*=gold).
 173. *tuft of hair* *gurtu* (K. *kuruḥ-u*; *gurtu*)

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174. <i>hill</i>	diṭa	(K. <i>tiṭṭa</i>).
175. <i>valley</i>	kḷi	(K. <i>kḷi</i>).
176. <i>river</i>	par	(A. K. <i>pari-yu</i> , flow).
177. <i>forest</i>	koar, mèn	(K. <i>kḷḷ-u</i> ; <i>maru</i>).
178. <i>tree, wood</i>	mèn	(K. <i>maru</i>).
179. <i>bush</i>	tapi, tūre	(Comp. 120).
180. <i>grass</i>	pullu	(A. Kan.)
181. <i>flower</i>	pu	(A. Kan.)
182. <i>fruit</i>	pôm	(A. K. <i>paṅg-u</i> . Tam. <i>paṅam</i> . S. P'HAĪAM).
183. <i>juice</i>	kar, nîr	(K. S. <i>sāra</i> . 184).
184. <i>water</i>	nîr	(K. <i>nîru</i>).
185. <i>mud</i>	purxh	(K. <i>burude</i> , § 6).
186. <i>soil</i>	mannu	

187. <i>gold</i>	ḍain	(K. <i>chinna</i>).
188. <i>silver</i>	beṭṭhi	(K. <i>beṭṭi</i>).
189. <i>iron</i>	kabban	(Kan.)
190. <i>brass</i>	tembu	(K. <i>chembu</i>).
191. <i>lead</i>	ḍial	(S. Drāv. <i>sisa</i>).
192. <i>stone</i>	karah	(K. <i>kaḷ-u</i>).

193. *north* }
194. *south* }

{ The Tuḍas have no word for 'north' and
'south,' but say only 'here' and 'there';
its and ate.

195. *east*
196. *west*

kîrah, mûralu (Kan. *māda*, *kḷi*).
blui = place of the sun's setting.
mok = above. (Tending to show
that the Tuḍas originally
lived on the eastern
or lower side of the
ghāts).

197. *wet season*
198. *dry season*

kuar (K. *kār*).
ḍaram (Kan. *ḍara*, dry).

Here vom = vāram. (S.)

199. <i>Sunday</i>	āsvom	ās (?)
200. <i>Monday</i>	tuvom	tū (?)
201. <i>Tuesday</i>	ām	(?)
202. <i>Wednesday</i>	budavom	budam = Mercury (S.)

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203. <i>Thursday</i>	tām	(P)
204. <i>Friday</i>	beḷivom	beḷe=silver, a name of Venus.
205. <i>Saturday</i>	thanivom	thanim=sani. (S.)

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A few of the words in this list defy all attempts to trace their origin. And this is not surprising. If in English such words as *boy*, *girl*, *dog*, and *pig*, though modern, cannot be traced, a tribe like the Tuḍas may well have invented a few terms.

§ 42.

TUḌA NUMERALS

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I. vodd	(K. <i>ond-u</i>)
II. odd	(K. <i>eradu</i>)
III. mūdu	(K. <i>mār-u</i>)
IV. nānku	(K. <i>nāḷu-u</i> T. <i>nāng-u</i>)
V. ūtah	(K. <i>cid-u</i>)
VI. ār	(K. <i>ār-u</i>)
VII. āḷah	(K. <i>āḷ-u</i> T. <i>āḷ-u</i>)
VIII. eṭṭ	(K. <i>eṭṭ-u</i> T. <i>eṭṭ-u</i>)
IX. oṣpath	(K. <i>on-baṭṭ-u</i>)
X. patta	(A. K. <i>pattu</i>)
XII. ponodd	(A. K. <i>paneraḍ-u</i>)
XVI. pārah	(A. K. <i>padiraḍ-u</i>)
XX. ēvoth	(K. <i>ippattu</i>)
XXX. mūpath	(K. <i>mūvattu</i>)
XL. nāḷpath	(K. <i>nāḷvattu</i>)
L. epath	(K. <i>civattu</i>)
C. nār	(K. <i>nār-u</i>)

§ 43. A few subjects for discussion may be indicated here.

(1) In examining these lists I think it will become evident that the 'lingual' or 'cerebral' letters in the Dravidian languages are all corruptions of one letter, a kind of l. This seems to be the ~~one~~ Vedic Cerebral.

Kan. *maḷai-u* is Tam. *maḷai*; so

Kan. *maḷai* is Tam. *maḷai*.

Kan. *naḷ* is Tuḍa *naḷ*.

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The Drāviḍian languages had originally one cerebral, as had the Sanskrit and the Welsh.

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(2) The Tuḍa *temporal particles* (§ 28) are

k for the *present* (eh, ah, h)
th (sharp) for the *past* (d)
b for the *future* (p, v) (only obscurely indicated).

It is perhaps in vain to form conjectures as to the origin of these, but k seems allied to ge or ke=do;

th may be connected with the root tã, dã, d'hã=give, place, establish.

b is possibly allied to S. b'is and its cognates.

(3) The Tuḍa nominal inflectional particles, or case endings, are (§§ 15-17) at the most four:

g (k); odd (end); ad; orah.

Of these g I connect with ge=do;

odd (end=ard) is past of ar=be;

ad (ath) is adj. pronoun;

orah (ar) is the root of a verb, signifying *absolute existence*.

§ 44. On the whole I venture to think that

194 (1) The Tuḍa is a language which was once highly inflectional; but, having lost most of its inflections, the people, who have evidently degenerated in every way as the result of isolation, have not replaced them by significant particles or auxiliaries to the same extent as the other South-Indian tribes; and the language has thus dwindled down to a mere skeleton. It now barely suffices for the purposes of a very barbarous people.

197 (2) The language seems to have been originally Old Kanarese, and not a distinct dialect. The Tuḍas were probably immigrants from the Kanarese country; and have dwelt on the Nilagiris for about 800 years. Their language was Old Kanarese. A few Tamil forms were introduced by

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§6. Most frequently some modification is made in the name. Often this is done to avoid a personal name that is in use simultaneously or that has been used in a previous generation. See e.g. *tæŋj* in §12 and *tæŋjæm*, the name of his great-grandson explained in §16. *tuwpuwæwŋ*, son of *tæpax* (20, Teipakh), and *tuwŋuws* (25, Tiveners) are both called after the *kogioŋ* dairy at the mund *toiwor*, which is named *tuwpuwforŋ*. In the case of one man *panuws* (23, Paners), I was told that his real name is *koinuws*, which is the first *kāsm* of the mund *poŋŋor* of the *toiworŋ*, but that a real *kāsm* of a mund cannot be used in addressing a man for fear he may suffer misfortune or die. The name *panuws* is based on the second *kāsm* of this mund, *paingub*, with unusual changes. This explanation may be correct, but two men of this same sib are called by the unchanged *kāsm* of two munda which were abandoned so long ago that the real names are not remembered, viz. *ŋikjæŋ* (24, Irkiolv) after the *kāsm* *ŋirquws*, *ŋikjæŋ*, and *oixūwŋ* (24, Orgula) after the *kāsm* *oixquws*, *oixūwŋ*; the *kāsm* are remembered from their use in the prayer of the calf-sacrifice of this sib. That we are not dealing in these two cases with munda whose gods are regarded as no longer existent is clear, for *kiŋquws* of the *nirjŋ* (43, Kidnara) derives his name from the unchanged second *kāsm* of the mund *nirj*, and *orjæuws* of the *mōiŋŋ* (16, Odikara) from the unchanged second *kāsm* of the mund *pan*. In fact, so long as an abandoned mund is remembered at all, it may be re-occupied, and it seems clear that the Todas do not believe that the god vanishes when a mund is abandoned.

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§7. Modification follows a number of patterns, some of them not always clear. If a place-name is being adapted, such suffixes or second members of compounds which characterize the locality are frequently dropped entirely or replaced by others. E.g. *tōmmod* (24, Teimad) <a valley (*paŋ*) called *tōmmodŋ*: *mogoj* (24, Mogal) <*mogojnæws* "cubit (*mogoj*)-shade (*næws*)," a shady place at the male funeral-place *tyŋtŋuws* of his sib.⁹ *kakær* (20, Kakar) <*kakæræwŋ*, an open place in the middle of thickets (*kæwŋ*) near the mund *toiwor*. See also *kæm* in §16. If another suffix is used, it sometimes is one that is appropriate to the locality, as in *kiŋjæmŋ* (20, Kidimodri) <*kiŋjæm*, a mountain; *mæm* is the peak of a hill and *mæj* may have the same meaning, though it denotes most generally the top of anything which is shaped well, e.g. a conical dairy, a gracefully spreading tree, a man's hair cut in the style peculiar to the Todas. It is probably substituted here because of this emotive connotation.

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⁹ Rivens (p. 615) supposed wrongly that this man was named "from the language of every-day life." His name is undoubtedly the same as the common noun in phonetic, but derived so it is by enrichment of a place-name associated with the sib, its connotations are very different from those of the common noun.

§8. In many of the names the substituted suffix is -kūmīr. This is clearly the noun kūmīr "stream," "path," or "horn." One man kūmīngūmīr (63, Kūmīngūdr) is named after kūmīngūmīr, the meeting place of the assembly of the tribe; the place-name is that of a stream flowing in the valley at this place. nōmīngūmīr (62, Nargūdr) < a stream and pool near the mund tōgōw. In some other personal names it is probable that this suffix has reference to a stream; e.g. līxūmīr (21, Idrākhwōdr) < līsfaf, a valley (paf) near the mund tōrōr; līdūmīr (23, Idjūdr) < līdīsfaf, a valley near the mund pafōr; in both these cases the valley has a stream. tōmīrūmīr (63, Tēkūdr) < a path near the mund xpuwōr. In many other names however -kūmīr can have no reference to a stream or a path, and there is great probability that the word kūmīr has its other meaning "horn;" so in fact the Todas analyze the names. The horns of their buffaloes are much admired by the Todas, and in such a buffalo-centred culture it is not surprising that "horn" should be an element in names. This use is clear in such a name as kāmīrūmīr (62, Kangūdr), where kām refers to a sacred buffalo of his sib. Such a case as kērūmīr (63, Kergūdr) < the mund kērōw, is much less obvious and is clearly of the same nature as those names discussed in §9. The word has come to be felt as a suffix that may be used with little regard to the meaning but merely for the connotive force. For the specific origin of the use we may, however, reasonably look to the use of stream-names and path-names and the presence in the language of the homonyms kūmīr "stream" or "path" and kūmīr "horn."

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¹ I have made this specific analysis for the benefit of psychologists who may wish to find in these personal names a phallic significance. Such a significance is certainly not there on the surface. Moreover, in the erotic songs which I have recorded, where phallic symbolism is to be looked for, the horn does not occur as a phallic symbol. A number of such symbols that are used are given in the following paragraphs.

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The most common symbolism that is to be regarded as sexual is that of the bee and the flower: a specimen of this type is given in *The Songs of the Todas*, p. 551. I also remark there that the same metaphor is used of a man catching a buffalo at a funeral, and finally in a marginal use to describe the activities of the bull-bug.

In one of the songs in which a woman is represented as talking about the party that had come to carry her off to give her in marriage to an old man comes the couplet:

puḍyānīḍ

flower-like fruit

tuḍḍānīḍ

pole-who are men

puḍḍānīḍ

crowd-for I became

tuḍḍānīḍ

bushes-to they became

i.e. "For the crowd of Toda men I have become a line; men who are (or, who have) long poles have hidden in the bushes to carry me off." The tuḍḍānīḍ a long pole carried at a two-day funeral; reference to the line is common in such connections, especially as a vocative addressed to a beautiful woman. The informants said that in this passage there is another meaning, viz. that since the husband is old, she thinks that all the Todas will come to have intercourse with

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[9]. The frequent suffix *-küwɪŋ* has defied analysis. Rivers⁸ thought that it was connected with the word for "horn," but the difference in the quantity of the diphthongs makes it unlikely, and my informants refuse to recognize any connexion between the two. It may be added to a word, as in *puntʃoxküwɪŋ* (a son of *sirjair* 20) < *puntʃox*, a mountain near the mund *toiror*, or it may be substituted for another suffix, as in *tuwɪpɪwɪxküwɪŋ* (20; referred in §6) < *tuwɪpɪwɪxfor*, the *kogfoj* dairy at *toiror*; *kæmɪxküwɪŋ*, son of *toilɪŋ* and *nertnɪw* (24, *Tɔleidi* and *Nertiners*) < *kæmɪnɪf*, the *ɔwɪroj* dairy at the mund *korkos*. A son of *kɔroin* of the *pɪwɪgoirɔf* (34, *Kwodron*) is named *ɔrojküwɪŋ* < *ɔrojuw*, the buffaloes of the *tii* of this sib. *kɔkɪsjküwɪŋ* (20, *Kekarikutan*, which represents the Toda form of the Badaga name of another man *kekæɪxküwɪŋ* in table 25) < *kɔkɪsjxud*, the name of buffalo-track (*kuɔd*) leading to the mund *toiror*.

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[10. Another frequent suffixal element is *-fɪwɪ*; e.g. in *karɔfɪwɪ* (21, *Karadrɪwɪ*) < *karɔfɪwɪ*, name of a mountain (*tuɪ*) near *toiror*; *uɪrkɔwɪfɪwɪ* (24, *Idrkudrɪwɪ*) < *uɪrkɔwɪfɪwɪ*, a river (*pɔɪwɪ*) near Mt. *koror*; *puntʃɪfɪwɪ* (24, *Pachievɪwɪ*) < *puntʃox*, a mountain near *toiror* (cf. *puntʃoxküwɪŋ* in §9); *kɛrgɛɪfɪwɪ* (25, *Kerskedrɪwɪ*) < *kɛrgɛɪfɪwɪ*, a stream near the mund *pɔstɪr*; *ɔrojküwɪŋ* < *ɔrojuw*, the buffaloes of the *tii* belonging to the *pɪwɪgoirɔf*, is another name of *pɔɪwɪ* (35, *Patirɪ*; cf. *ɔrojküwɪŋ* in §9); *mupɪfɪwɪ* (16, *Mopuvɪwɪ*) < *mupɪfɪ*, the conspicuous mountain, called Staircase by the English. This element may be added to the name of any old man, apparently as a mark of respect, e.g. *pæɪfɪ* or *pæɪfɪfɪwɪ*, *kæmɔdɔ* or *kæmɔdɔfɪwɪ*; and many names which have this final element may also appear without it in familiar speech. Rivers was told that the suffix is the same as the word for the stone circles on the summits of some hills, but the Toda word for these circles is *mɪwɪ*, which cannot be connected with the suffix. The word *pɪwɪ*, which is the only possibility, means "gold, the gold bangle kept in a dairy; the privates of a small girl; afterwards" and none of these meanings seems to be appropriate, except possibly the first.⁹

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her by stealth; each will hide in the bushes and wait for her to come to him. It is undoubtedly the erotic language that suggests this second meaning. The phallic bearings of the passage are obvious.

Other passages which can be interpreted as containing sexual symbolism, either conscious or unconscious, will be available when my complete collection of song-texts is published.

⁸ Rivers, *op. cit.*, p. 449.

⁹ In case sexual symbolism should be looked for here, I observe that caution must be used. The three meanings given for *pɪwɪ* belong to three South Dravidian words which have quite distinct phonetic forms in most of the other languages, and it may be found that the suffix *-fɪwɪ* derives from still a fourth distinct phonetic entity. Until the historical grammar of Toda

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suitable ending for personal names. E.g. panus and turtinus (§6); kūrjnus (25, Kudeners) < the relic-burning place kūrjonoim at the funeral-place tytstūm; pišdjnus (21, Pūldenir) < pišdjnarfem, the slope of a hill near the mund kūrmeis; nertnus (24, Nertiners) < nerpošt, an alternative name, or wnerpošt, the first kūsm, of the mund tēlgūm.

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§12. Another suffix of quite unknown meaning, but probably originally at home in place-names, is -iθj. ertsaiθj (20, Ircheidi) is taken without change from the name of a hill near the mund kōrkōr. All the other names with this suffix that I can derive show it as a suffix or as a substitute for some other element; e.g. tursiθj (20, Tirseidi) < tukisjxōir, a pool at the mund toirōir. He was a brother of ertsaiθj, but his eldest brother, and so his name was not influenced by the latter's, but vice versa, and both were probably influenced either in formation or in choice by that of their father tēθj. This last name is puzzling, but is said to be derived from tēif, the name of the mountain near the mund toirōir, and we may suspect that -θj is related to the suffix -iθj. Two other brothers of tursiθj have names with the same formative -iθj, tūppiθj (Tanpeidi) < kūrūθwupp, the raised grassy mound (tūpp) where the corpse is laid at the funeral-place tytstūm, and mūdibiθj (Madbeithi) < mūdibonθwut, a mountain near toirōir. paikiθj (21, Parkeidi) < paikēfem, the slope of a hill near the mund kōrkōr. toiliθj (24, Tōleidi) < toilfem, a stream (pōru) near the mund tēlgūm. It was said that pulkiθj (22, Pulkeidi) was named after the mund pulkūm and the mountain kišjmun near the mund kūrmeis; this is possible, but derivation from pulkūm alone is possible in view of the preceding examples. kydsiθj (21, Kudstheidi) < kyd, a male funeral-place of the toirōirōi. kūwtiθj (21, Kuteidi) < kūrūθwupp, see tūppiθj above. These two men were brothers, an elder brother was paikiθj (explained above), their father was pettūmθj and another elder brother was orrdūmθj; the similarity of endings is striking, and is paralleled by various similarities of ending (such as that given earlier in this paragraph) or of beginning in various families. The ending found in the last two names is probably -tūmθj. I know it in these names only. orrdūmθj (Arthoθi) derives from orrdōi, an open stretch of ground (toi) near the mund ertoif. The origin of pettūmθj (Peratūθi) is unknown.

§13. Another ending is -ods; e.g. kāmōds (21, Kainōds) < kāmōθ, the tūsoθj dairy at the mund kōrkōr. This ending appears preceding another suffix in the name of tyfjōdxūm, son of toiliθj (24), named after tyfjōp, a path through a thicket near toirōir; tyfjūm would have been possible, but this name is borne by another man, as is also tyfjōds (62, Tiliōds), which is derived from kōyθj, the kūsm of the gateposts of the pen at the mund piθ.

§14. The suffix -om is fairly common. The meaning of this suffix is "he who is, or has" (cf. the song passage quoted in appendix to note 7 above); this is clear in the name *nasom* (a son of *təipax* [20, Teipakh]) "he who has beauty, or is beautiful." From such transparent cases the suffix has spread to other less transparent cases, as e.g. *kūroin* of the *purgoroi* (34, Kwo-dron), who is named after the mund *kūnŕynj* with shortening of the first vowel (cf. *panus* in §6). The suffix -air is fairly common. I know of one name with this suffix based on the name of a rock at a watering-place (which should end in *ar* "flat rock"), but my informants were unable to remember the name of the rock; the *tan*'s name is *sinair* (55, Sinar). Other examples connected with sibs do not occur in my material. *sirjair* (20, Sirir) < *sirjagum*, the Tamil name ordinarily spelt in English *Srirangam*. The parents of this man made a vow for children at the temple there. *pijair* (52, Pillar) seems to be derived from the common noun *pij* "silver" by this suffix. However, the name has a peculiar origin in that it was given by this man's recently dead grandfather in a dream experienced by his father. A sib origin could not be given for it, or at least was not sought for; it is, however, based on the familiar type and probably has reference to some sib-object, perhaps the *kurŕofj* dairy at the mund *kurūtur*, which has as *kūarm* *pijog*, which was used unchanged for this man's younger brother (Piling).

§15. Rivers took -aff (his -olv) to be an ending of personal names as such, as well as an ending of dairy-names. The Todas, however, do not seem to regard it in this manner. In all the examples, with two exceptions, a personal name with this ending is first a dairy-name. So *touŕjaff* in §5, and *oikjaff* in §6; the latter is one *kūarm* of an abandoned mund, but in all the cases where a mund has a name of this type as one *kūarm*, this represents a dairy at the mund. The two exceptions are *kūuŕjaff* (52, Kuriolv) and *paŕuklŕjaff* (7, Pakursolv). The former is made from *kūuŕum*, the ground where the sacred buffalo is killed at pits, the male funeral-place of the sib, but with its ending derived by the informants from *punaŕjaff*, the second *kūarm* of the funeral-place, referring to the funeral-hut, which represents a dairy. *paŕuklŕjaff* < *paŕuklŕjair*, the watering place of the *kurŕofj* dairy at the mund *kais*, with the ending from *touŕjaff*, the name of the *kurŕofj* dairy. I know of only one dairy-name in *poŕi* used as a personal name, viz. *tyŕjpoŕi* (12, Tillpa), which is derived from *poŕiŕjŕjpoŕi*, the *kūarm* of the *tunŕofj* dairy at the mund *noŕminor*. Usually some change is made, as in *tunpaŕŕūm* and *tunŕum* in §6 (cf. §9 and §11) and *piŕjŕtur* in §21.

§16. A few of the names which were explained to me have very irregular formations. *punur* (23, Puner) < *panarŕoŕi*, the second *kūarm* of Mt.

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pamōtj near the mund karkos. edzen (22, Idjen) <idzsa, a valley near the mund poštair; this man was afterwards called kūarxas, from a rocky ground near the mund tælgūuīr, since there was another man called edzen. natyij (25, Natuli) <kinxatyij, a rocky ground with a deep pool near the mund poštair; kinxatyij = "small (kin)-stone (kas)-deep pool (tyij)," and natyij = "beauty (nas)-deep pool (tyij)." I could not discover that natyij was ever regularly applied to this locality. tæθjxæm (see §6) is said to be a combination of tæθj and kæm, a brother of tæθj who is not found in the genealogical tables. The latter name is derived from kæmōff, cf. kængūuīr (§9) and kæmodz (§13) and see §7 for the process of formation. The formation of a name by the combination of two others is unusual but it is paralleled in pmlkirθj, for which see §12.

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§17. Practically all the names analyzed above are derived by one process or other from names or kūarm of things or places closely associated with the sib in each case. Another class of names of men derives from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon or from temples, if a vow was made to these gods or temples for the birth of a child. So sirjair in §14. Others are moironūm, a son of tūūūxūn (23, Teitukhen), named from the goddess moironm, i.e. Mariamma; noixoroidzn, a son of sirjair (table 20), <noixuir "Nagore" or noixuirxurj "the temple at Nagore" with roidzn "king." The famous mosque at this place is treated by the Todas exactly as if it were a Hindu temple, an interesting example of the syncretistic tendencies of an illiterate and untutored Indian community. This name seems to have been influenced phonetically by the word noixor or noixoroif "cobra."

§18. Two names of Hindu divine figures, who do not possess any temples known to the Todas, are known to me. The first is ardʒon "Arjuna" (25, Kagerikutan); the representation of Sanskrit n by Toda ŋ is a sporadic and irregular change. This name is also shortened to ardʒ. The other name is idjom (a son of tæipex, table 20). This is from idroidzn "king (roidzn) Indra (id)." One of the Toda gods appears in ōngūuīr (20, Enkutan); ōm, the god who lives in the world of the dead, is not especially associated with any sib. One of the semi-mythical heroes kūaōū, who belonged to the sib of the meļgūuīr, had another name mæiltarx, which is now borne by a man of this sib (44, Meilitars).

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§19. I know of one case of a Toda who was given the name of a Hindu of another community, viz. koimtarx, a son of kæmodz (table 21), who was named after the Maharaja of Mysore's maternal uncle Kāntarāja Arasu, formerly Diwan of the states and known popularly in Mysore as Kāntarasu. (urs is the Toda representation of Kannaḍa arasu, which appears in the names of members of the Maharaja's house and is Englished as Urs; it

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[237] very plentiful. The informants conjectured that this fact accounts for the name; if so, it too is in a manner a sib-name. Similarly tōin, a son of piŋjog (52, Piliag), has as name the word for "honey," said to be used because honey is for the Todas surrounded with taboos and in some sense holy. When the names of the kūrūwōi, the sib of this man, were investigated, 100 were sib-names, 3 could not be analyzed but were presumably sib-names, one was of non-Toda origin, one (tōin) has just been analyzed, and one, piŋjor, is of peculiar origin, for which see §14. In my investigations I have complete analyses of the names of these three sibs. The latter two are the largest sib of the tōŋiŋjōi moiety and one of the smaller ones. The tōŋiŋjōi sib, belonging to the tōŋiŋjōi moiety, is one of the larger sibs of the moiety. Its names show a larger proportion with non-sib and non-Toda origin than either of the other two, and I suspect from the samplings of names that I have made from other sibs that it has probably a higher proportion of such names than any other sib. All the larger tōŋiŋjōi sibs, however, show a few such names. When it is considered that none of these sibs is as large as the kūrūwōi and that the latter has only two names of non-sib and non-Toda origin out of the 106 analyzed, and that the piŋjōi have no name of non-Toda origin and only one that was not certainly derived from the sib, we may see here evidence to substantiate further Rivers' statement that the tōŋiŋjōi moiety is more conservative than the other.

WOMEN'S NAMES

[24] §23. Women's personal names are not derived or allowed to be derived from the sib. It is evident, however, in one case that the thought of a sib-association had operated in the formation of a woman's name; this is the first name treated in the following paragraph. It was difficult to get any definite interpretation of women's names from the men; they are quite uninterested in the matter. Their stock answer is that women's names are derived from names of flowers; but in fact, I have in my material no name so derived. Women informants were no more interested in the matter than the men, though they could analyze the names of men of their father's or husband's sibs with almost as much ease as the men. However, many of the women's names are quite transparent, and some principles can be stated. In a number of cases it is clear that words frequently used in songs are at the base of women's names, and it will emerge in the sequel that association with the songs is to be suspected in most of them. In the detailed discussion of the names song-associations will be pointed out whenever they are known to me.

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193 [24] §24. A frequent suffix of unknown meaning, probably merely a formant

of female-denoting significance, is -idz. E.g. *orlidz* (3, *Arlidz*) is derived by this suffix from *orl* "small pebbles used in playing jackstraws or as counters in reckoning accounts." This woman was born in the sib of the *norpo*; it was at *nor* that the goddess *tōkij* performed her acts of creation and divided up the Todas into sibs and assigned buffaloes to the sibs. In the songs when this is referred to, a usual pair of phrases is:

<i>maxurzoj</i>	<i>potsurñoir</i>
first-hand	where (she) placed-sacred place
<i>maxararl</i>	<i>oikjurñoir</i>
first-pebbles	where (she) set out-sacred place

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i.e. "(*nor*) the sacred place where *tōkij* in the beginning laid on her hand and set out pebbles in making the divisions." It is clear that *orl* in the woman's name was used because of the association of her father's sib with *tōkij*, and it is probably significant that no other name has been discovered with this element. Another name with this suffix is *mopidz* (7, *Manidz*); *moŋ* "soil, owned land" is a member of several pairs in songs—*ipefēidz*, *moŋfēidz* "quarrels (*pēidz*) about women (*ip*, a Hadaga word) and land;"

<i>ipexūit</i>	<i>kojōōik</i>
woman-bungalow	you built
<i>moŋexōir</i>	<i>kertōōik</i>
earth-pool	you dammed

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i.e. "though a woman, you built a fine house and dammed with earth a pool to supply water." *tōrmidz* (44, *Terimidz*) < *tōrm* "alms" (indirectly from Sanskrit *dharma*) has in mind the passage in the songs where a woman is praised for her alms-giving. *nūwītēidz* (3, *Notidz*) < *nūwīt* "a sight," has in mind the pair describing funerals and festivals: *koileit*, *kopenūwīt* "dancing (*oit*) with the legs (*koil*), sights for the eyes (*koŋ*)." *popidz*, daughter of *kūwūpax* (52, *Kulpakh*) < *poŋ* "colored cloth" is probably derived from the song-unit *otiođjōŋ* which refers to a loincloth put on by men when they drive the buffaloes round in the pen at a two-day funeral. *ainidz* (21, *Sinidz*) < *ain* "gold." *loibidz*, daughter of *tōikūwūr* (63, *Teikudr*), < *laibm* "profit" (indirectly from Sanskrit *lābha*). *ruipōjēidz* (also *ruipōj*), daughter of *kōmānūz* (34, *Kemners*), < *ruipōj* "rupee." *raimēidz* (38, *Ramēidz*) < *Rāma*, the divine personage. *rođgēidz*, daughter of *pōds* (34, *Podj*), < *rođz* "kingdom" (indirectly from Sanskrit *rājya*). *pirkēidz* (28, *Pirkēidz*) < *pīrkītm*, the Toda form of the English name *Brecks*, after the Collector in the Nilgiris who did ethnological work on the Todas. *sonmēidz* (63, *Sanmēidz*) < *sonm* "the people" (indirectly from Sanskrit *jana*); this

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name is possibly made with thought of the song-pair: *kurifer*, *keresonm* "a crowd such as has not gathered before, the people in a crowd such as has not assembled before." *motšids* (21, *Matchids*) < *motš* "cot," with thought of the song-unit *sinotmotš* "golden cot," which occurs in descriptions of the possessions of a wealthy man or of his wife. *ofulids* (16, *Ovalids*; 24, *Ovelids*) < *oful* "rice puffed over the fire."

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§25. The suffix *-or* is found in several names; e.g. *koisar* (57, *Kosar*) < *kois* "coin, rupee" and *pišar* (21, *Piliarh*) < *piš* "silver." *noixoremj* (10, *Nagerami*) contains a suffix *-emj* found in several other names; the first part of the name is to be compared with the first part of *noixoroidz* (§17). In *sinog* (27, *Sinakh*) we have *sin* "gold" and a suffix *-og*. In several names there is a suffix *-ul*; e.g. *sinul* (28, *Sinul*) < *sin* "gold."

§26. Many names are compounds. Frequent first members are *sin* "gold," *pun* "gold" (used in this sense in songs and proper names only), *piš* "silver." E.g. *sindorm* (10, *Sindarm*) with *tarm* "charity" (for the song-association cf. *tarmids* in §24); *sindogus* (62, *Sintagars*) with *togus* "chain," with special reference to a chain as a neck-ornament; *sinboqm* (63, *Sinpanm*) with *poqm* "4-anna piece;" *singūr*, daughter of *tōikūwir* (63), with *kūr* "umbrella," a frequent word in songs; *sinbydj*, daughter of the same man, with *pydj* "wisdom" (indirectly from Sanskrit *buddhi*); *sinmal*, daughter of *turbūwir* (68, *Tebkudr*), with *mal* "mountains, esp. the Nilgiris," a frequent word in songs; *sindod* (38, *Sindod*), with *tođ* "army," a frequent word in songs (indirectly from Sanskrit *daṇḍa*); *sinir* (56, *Sinir*), with *nir* "water;" *sinur* (41, *Sinur*), with *ur* "town, city;" *singupj* (14, *Sinkupj*), with *kupj* "the cowries or beads dangling in a bunch from a woman's armlet;" *sindufj* (58, *Sinduvi*), with *tufj* "feather;" *sinboštufj* (65, *Sinbuthuvi*), with *pa(θ)-tufj* "eagle's feather;" *sines* (8, 40, *Siners*), with *es* "leaf;" *sinderx* (3, 25, 56, *Sinderg*; 53, *Sinterg*), with *terx* "plate from which food is eaten," and *singōb* (43, *Singib*), with *kōb* "small bamboo cup from which milk is poured to drink," probably have reference to feeding visitors in the song-pair: *terxūwraškj*, *kōbūwrfous* "rice in a plate, milk in a cup;" *sindurp* (68, *Sintharap*), with *turp* "key." In a number of names the vowel *-a-* is inserted between the two parts of the compound: *sinamut* (43, *Sinamut*), with *mut* "pearl;" *sinamoqj* (24, *Sinamanj*), with *moqj* "bell" (see note 10); *sinabuf* (8, *Sinabuv*), with *puif* "flower;" *sinēfj* (1, *Sinaveil*), with *pišj* "silver." Names with *pun* "gold" are: *pinūufj* (68, *Punūvi*), with *tufj* "feather;" *punboštufj* (8, *Punbuthuvi*), with *poštufj* "eagle's feather;" *punur* (66, *Punur*), with *ur* "town, city;" *punderx* (26, *Pundergh*), with *terx*, cf. *sinderx* above. *punabuf* (10, *Punabuv*), with *puif* "flower," contains the inserted vowel *-a-*. *pundūw-*

teuŋ (10, Punduteimi), with tūŋ "handle of a bamboo vessel" (frequently found in songs), has also the suffix -emj mentioned in §25, piŋ "silver" is found in piŋmoŋt (54, Pilimasht), with moŋt "ax;"¹⁰ piŋniŋr (55, Pilinir), with niŋr "water;" piŋmut (35, Pilimut), with mut "pearl."

§27. As first member of a compound is found nar- "beauty;" nastuŋfj (49, Narstuŋi), with tuŋfj "feather;" naspiŋj (35, 52, Naspilthi), with piŋj "silver." It is found in the form nal- with insertion of -a- in nalabuŋf, daughter of pantuŋ (23, Paners), with puŋf "flower." puŋf "flower" is found as first member of a compound in puŋfŋj (20, Puveli), with piŋj "silver;" with inserted -a- in puŋfamuŋt, daughter of sirjair (20), with mut "pearl;" with suffix -ids and piŋj "silver" in puŋfadzŋfj (65, Puvizveli).

§28. Other compounds are found with more sporadic members. kōsmoŋfj, daughter of oitjəŋ and udjoŋs (34, Atiur and Udioŋan), from kōs "rupee" and moŋfj "garland;" kōsmoŋfj (11, Kosaveli), from kōs "rupee" and piŋj "silver" with inserted -a-; cf. kōsar §25. niŋrŋfj (63, Nirveli) from niŋr "water" and piŋj "silver." əŋniŋr (16, Ərsner), from əŋ "European" and niŋr "water." mutniŋrŋfj (51, Mutnirveli), from mut "pearl," niŋr "water" and piŋj "silver;" is rather exceptional in having three members. pumeŋ (23, Pumers), from pum "fruit" and əs "leaf;" cf. sines §26. Several contain English words: soipniŋr (6, Sapnir), from soip "shop" and niŋr "water;" poŋuŋmut, daughter of oitjəŋ and udjoŋs (34), from poŋuŋ "power," referring to the electric power line across the hills, and mut "pearl." Three refer to Miss C. F. Ling who was formerly a missionary among the Todas.¹¹ ligmiŋj (23, Lingimishi) represents Ling Missy (i.e. Miss Ling), which is the ordinary way in which a South Indian would refer to this lady; ligjebuŋf, daughter of ŋuŋəŋr (48, Ushadr), has puŋf "flower" with an inserted -a- and an unwarranted j; miŋjamuŋt, daughter of kōmnuŋ (34, Kemners), is miŋj "missy" and mut "pearl" with an inserted -a-.

§29. Uncompounded words without any suffix are found as names: tuguŋj, daughter of kōmnuŋəŋf (52, Kuriolŋ), "moon;" əŋŋer (62, Sever) "1000;" ysmiŋf (12, Irsimitch) "lime (the fruit)," cf. the appendix to note 7; mumeŋ (56, Munat), "affection." poŋəŋm (34, Paton) is the word found in Sanskrit as paṭṭana "city" and is the usual Toda word for Madras city. kopol (41, Kapal) seems to denote the compound of a bungalow and refers especially in the songs with its pair kotəŋrj to the law-courts in Ootacamund. A few English words have been taken as names changed only to such

¹⁰ Moŋt "ax" and moŋj "bell" (cf. əmnoŋj §36) form a song-pair, denoting two of the objects found in daktin.

¹¹ See *The Songs of the Todas*, footnote 2 and p. 354.

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an extent that their phonetics follow the Toda pattern: $pæibj$, daughter of $ðiknəs$ (8, Arkners), <"baby;" $pentʃ$, daughter of $korɔdʊtɪn$ (42, Kadrkutan), <"bench (i.e. of magistrates in the courts)." The English "station," i.e. police-station, becomes in Toda $tæisn$; a woman's name $tæis$ is derived by dropping -n; which if it were kept would give the word the appearance of a man's name (daughter of $kəjɪnɪr$, 3, Kainir).

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§30. The Sanskrit $dēvi$ "goddess" borrowed indirectly gives $tɪfj$ (8, Tivi). Several goddess names (Hindu) with this as final element are found, among them $aməndɪfj$, daughter of $kūwɪlpəx$ (52, Kulpakh), the first element being Amma, a South Indian word for "goddess;" the whole word probably refers to Mariamma.

CONCLUSIONS

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§31. Analysis of a large collection of proper names has thus yielded a number of general tendencies. Men's names are in the majority of cases sib-names, based on names and $kūəsm$ "sacred names" of all things connected with the patrilineal sib and especially with the gods or munds of the sib. In this the Todas join in principle with many other sib-organized communities, in which the individuals of each sib bear a name belonging to the sib, but they differ from other such communities in that while in most each individual uses the name of the sib and a personal name not closely connected with the sib, the Todas use only personal names, which are derived from the sib. Of the small residue of names not definitely connected with the sibs, a few are derived from religious entities not closely associated with any sib (e.g. $ðingūwɪtɪn$ §18), and perhaps a larger number are derived from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon, usually in consequence of a vow made by the man's parents (§17). A very few are derived from more miscellaneous sources (§§19, 20).

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§32. Women's names on the contrary have nothing to do with the sib with the exception of the one discussed in §24 and possibly others that I have not discovered.¹² Some women's names are simple common nouns, often of non-Toda origin, many more are common nouns with a suffix, and the great majority are compounds of common nouns. Those names borrowed from English probably in many cases have a bizarre or perhaps even comic connotation, judging from the facial expressions of my informants when I recorded such names.

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¹² It may be noted that though women have no part in the religion of the dairy-complex and are a source of pollution to the complex in many circumstances, they are not debarred from using the $kūəsm$ "sacred names" in composing songs. Here they are entirely on an equality with the men. It has been found too that the women have as good a knowledge of the details of the formation of men's names as the men; cf. §23.

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[576] Besides these Rivers distinguished a relative of this type who is of the same age as 200. This distinction is in fact impossible, both in the strict temporal sense, and in the Toda cultural pattern. It is always known how the persons in question stand to one another in the matter of relative time of birth, and in such cultural contexts as formal greetings⁸ no room is left by the pattern for a class of the same age as 200. For example, at a gathering each new male arrival must salute all the males already present with the proper formal term of address, and among these all classificatory elder brothers must be greeted. If any of those present is neglected, the offender is reprimanded and if necessary fined for the neglect. The pattern in its strict application makes a clean dichotomy and in practically all circumstances the dichotomy is rigidly enforced. The word given by Rivers for his third class is *koŋ* "friend," occurring chiefly with pronominal forms preceding, *egoŋ* or *en-goŋ* "my friend" (in address -es is added), *num-goŋ* "your friend," *an-goŋ* or *tan-goŋ* "his or her friend," etc. These terms are normally used between or with reference to close friends of the same age-level who are not related to one another (e.g., typically between two persons who belong to different moieties). They may also be used where formality is not enforced by the pattern; I have no certain information as to whether they could be used between siblings, but there is some slight evidence to be discussed below which would indicate that it is possible. It is to be noted however that this is only permissive and that the term does not designate any kinship class or even any relationship that is highly formalized in the culture.⁷

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[193] When two persons sing together, certain subjects allow or require that vocatives be used at the beginning, the end, and important division-points of the songs. In most of the texts that I have recorded the proper kinship terms are used in such songs. Ten songs use the conventional song-words for "friend (vocative)," *enboŋoŋjaŋ*, *eningoŋjaŋ*.⁸ Three situations may be divided off. In the first (three songs) the two singers are of different moieties and presumably no "lover-mistress" relationship would require kinship terms.⁹ In a second class (four songs) membership of the same moiety might very well involve a relationship where kinship terms should be used, but I do not know of any such relationship; two of the songs were sung by the same pair of singers and were dictated to me at a sufficient interval of time so that the use of "friend" terms is guaranteed. In a third class (three songs) there was certainly relationship between the singers, but as dictated the "friend" terms were used. These songs were dictated rather early in my field-work before I realized all the implications of the

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561 in address is the simple vocative (distinguished by sex and relative age); in reference the simple brother-sister terms might be used or, where more exact reference is necessary, descriptive terms. In the case of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as 200 the brother-sister terms are used (see note 7 below).

⁷ Rivers, pp. 496-98.

⁸ In the case also of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as the speaker there is no room for Rivers' third classification (p. 488 bottom); only age older or younger than that of 200 is taken into account in determining the kinship term to be used.

⁹ For the nature of the song-words, see my paper *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 543-60, 1937), especially pp. 547-49.

¹⁰ For this relationship, see Rivers, pp. 526-29.

LANGUAGE, CULTURE, AND PERSONALITY

APPENDIX

Reference terms, classificatory

A pcfin

B pcfaf; members of preceding generations may be referred to exactly as muid-tal-fin, muid-tal-faf (great-great-grandparents), noin-tal-fin, nom-tal-faf (great-great-grandparents), or they and the great-grandparents may all be referred to by grandparent terms.

C piin

D piif

E in, ejir

F af, ufuf

G mun, mumum

H mimj, mimimj

I on, onon

J okn, okok

K -ūw-fed (mox, xuix; see p. 179)

L močinj (-oi/ or -mox, -fogmox or -xuix)

M mox

N kuix

O mun-mox (see pp. 161, 164)

P man-guix

Q moit-fif (see p. 165)

X oi/

Y tozmox

Z mod-okn (see p. 164)

The second entries are reduplicated forms which do not differ from the simplex forms in denotation; they are in connotation somewhat less formal, and no trace of them has been found in the song-language or in the address terms, formal or otherwise. For a preliminary discussion of the linguistic structure of the forms, see my paper Echo-words in Toda (New Indian Antiquary, Vol. 1, pp. 109-17, 1938), p. 112.

Reference terms, descriptive

1. The husband of a female relative is referred to by -n-oi/ suffixed to the term by which she is referred to; e.g., okn(n)-oi/ "elder sister's husband," en-ūw-fedn-oi/ or en-ūw-fed-xuixn-oi/ "younger sister's husband" (in both cases if the husband is not too's cross-cousin, and permissively if he is), močinj-xuixn-oi/ "female cross-cousin's husband" (if he is not too's brother), kuixn-oi/ "daughter's husband" (otherwise pojoi/), man-guixn-oi/ "sister's daughter's husband (man speaking), brother's daughter's husband (woman speaking)" (unless he is too's son), moit-xuixn-oi/ "son's daughter's husband," kuixn-guixn-oi/ or kuixk-fəidfoj-xuixn-oi/ "daughter's daughter's husband," en(k)-kottfojn-dan-okn-oi/ "my wife's elder sister's husband," en-oi/ŋ-dan-okn-oi/ "my husband's elder sister's husband" (see 4 below for discussion of -dan = tan), etc. In most cases explicit description could be carried further, as okn-fəidfoj-xuixn-oi/ "elder sister's daughter's husband."

2. The wife of a male relative is referred to by -(k)-kottfoj (or -(g)-gottfoj, depending on certain grammatical rules) suffixed to the term by which he is referred to; e.g., on(g)-gottfoj "elder brother's wife," en-ūw-fed(k)-kottfoj or en-ūw-fed-mox(k)-kottfoj "my younger

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brother's wife" (in both cases if the wife is not 200's cross-cousin, and permissively if she is). *močinj-mox(k)-koitfoj* "male cross-cousin's wife" (if she is not 200's sister), *man-mox(k)-koitfoj* "sister's son's wife (man speaking), brother's son's wife (woman speaking)" (unless she is 200's daughter), *moit-mox(k)-koitfoj* "son's son's wife," *kuixn-mox(k)-koitfoj* or *kuixk-fæidfoj-mox(k)-koitfoj* "daughter's son's wife," *en(k)-koitfojn-dan-on(g)-goitfoj* "my wife's elder brother's wife," *en-ojn-dan-on(g)-goitfoj* "my husband's elder brother's wife," etc. Explicit reference can be carried further, as *okng-fæidfoj-mox(k)-koitfoj* "elder sister's son's wife."

3. The son or daughter of a relative is referred to (a) by suffixing *-n-mox* or *-n-quix* (need not be found) respectively to the term for the relative, or (b) by suffixing *-k-fæidfoj-mox* or *-k-fæidfoj-xuix* respectively (*-k* may be replaced by *-g*, depending on certain grammatical rules as in 2); e.g., *on-mox* or *ong-fæidfoj-mox* "elder brother's son," *on-quix* or *ong-fæidfoj-xuix* "elder brother's daughter," *en-ūur-fedn-mox* or *en-ūur-fedk-fæidfoj-mox* "my younger sibling's son," *kuix[n]-mox* or *kuixk-fæidfoj-mox* "daughter's son," *man-mox[n]-mox* or *man-moxk-fæidfoj-mox* "sister's son's son (man speaking), brother's son's son (woman speaking)," *en(k)-koitfojn-dan-okn(n)-mox* or *en(k)-koitfojn-dan-okng-fæidfoj-mox* "my wife's elder sister's son," etc. Permissively for explicit reference we may find, e.g., *en-okn(n)-mox* or *en-okng-fæidfoj-mox* "my elder sister's son." A son's son is *moit-mox* (*moit = moxn*; cf. p. 165), a son's daughter *moit-xuix*; a son's son's son is *moit-mox-mox*.

4. Other relatives of relatives may be referred to by suffixing *-n* (which need not be found) plus the appropriate term. Most frequently *-dan* or *-ban* (= *tan*; the variation depends on grammatical rules) is inserted after *-n* or after the member which may end in *-n*; e.g., *en(k)-koitfojn-dan-on* "my wife's elder brother," *en(k)-koitfojn-[dan]-ūur-fed* "my wife's younger sibling," *en-in-[dan]-močinj* "my father's cross-cousin." This *tan* is originally the reflexive pronoun of the 3rd person; it is used often enough in this sense, but more often with kinship terms as in the examples just given without any meaning that I have been able to discover (never, however, when a 1st or 2nd personal pronoun form would immediately precede it). Though it might mean in these uses "(his) own" there are some contexts where no question of the persons being "own" brothers or the like can arise. The reflexive force seems to have been lost in this use with kinship terms, and one is tempted to think that kinship terms are on the way to a grammatical state in which they will not occur without a pronominal reference, i.e. inalienable possession (in reference only, not in address). The reduplicated forms of E-J do not occur with *tan* preceding. A few other examples may be given: *kūstæm-dan-of* "kūstæm's mother," *pijor-ān-biin* "pijor's grandfather," *i-oi-ān-man-mox* "this man's sister's son," *ibām-dan-mun* "the maternal uncle of these men," *in-dan-mun-ōō-m* "all the seven maternal uncles of this man," *on-dan-oi* "her husband," *e(m)-muid-om tan-onam-oi-femi* "we (exclusive) three are brothers," *ib-æid-m tan-on-m tan-ūur-fed-m-uk-of uciun* "these two were living like brother and sister;" in one passage a snake's coming is referred to and the snake, not referred to previously, is called *tan-oi(f)-foib* "the mother snake" and later on *tan-in-foib* "the father snake" comes. Cf. for other examples 1-3 above and pp. 159, 164.

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